OCTOBER 2000 $4.00/£3.00

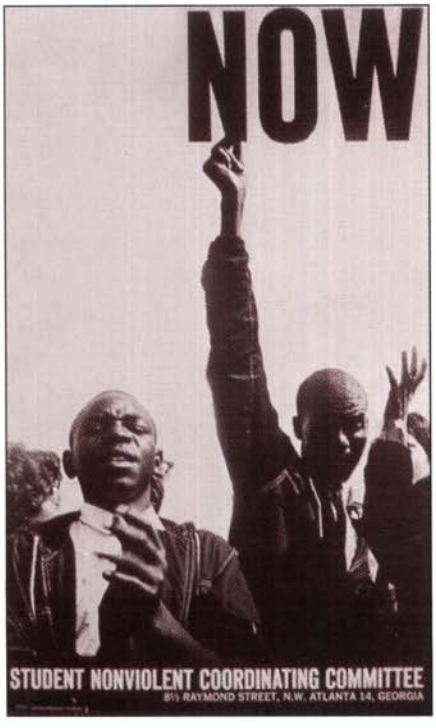
MONTHLY REVIEW

VOL. 52 5

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

Social Security, the Stock Market, and the Elections

by the Editors



SNCC: What We Did

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Books: Martin Hart-Landsberg on *The Korean War* by Hugh Deane; Helena Sheehan on *Marx's Ecology* by John Bellamy Foster; Paul Buhle on *Marxism for Our Times* by Martin Glaberman

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MONTHLY REVIEW VOLUME 52 NUMBER 5 OCTOBER 2000

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

In an article on the role of third parties in U.S. presidential elections in the August 21, 2000, issue of *In These Times*, founding editor and publisher James Weinstein observed:

> In 1948, when I cast my first vote for president, Henry A. Wallace, vice president during FDR's second and third terms, was running as the Progressive Party candidate against Republican Thomas Dewey and Democrat Harry S. Truman. In August, he was at 12 percent in the polls. On election day, he got 2 percent. My history professor at Cornell, a wonderful man named Paul Wallace Gates, was the New York state treasurer of the Wallace for President Committee. On election day, he voted for Truman. Within a year the Progressive Party disintegrated.

Weinstein's point was that Wallace's 1948 Progressive Party campaign, which was aimed at preserving the New Deal coalition in the face of the rightward tilt of the Democratic Party under Truman, was doomed to a natural devolution as the election neared—in what could be regarded as a historical law for third-party movements in U.S. politics. But missing from this argument, astonishingly, was the main reason for the Progressive Party's rapid decline, which had nothing to

(continued on inside back cover)

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Social Security, the Stock Market, and the Elections

by the Editors

Social Security was the crowning achievement of Roosevelt's New Deal. It has been the most successful and still remains the most popular of all U.S. government programs. More than a pension program, Social Security provides for workers and their families in the case of early death and disability, in addition to retirement. In 1997, it provided about twelve trillion dollars worth of life insurance alone, more than that of the entire private life-insurance industry. Furthermore, it does all of this in the form of *social* insurance, in which the distribution and the amount of benefits provided are determined by family relationships and basic economic rights—factors that private insurance and pension plans ignore. Nearly one-fifth of the elderly in the United States rely on Social Security as virtually their sole source of income, while two-thirds of all recipients depend on it for at least half of their income. Almost half of all white seniors would be classified as poor without their Social Security benefits; nearly half of all black and Latino elderly depend on it for 90 percent or more of their income (*Business Week*, June 26, 2000, p. 34). For many years it was drummed into the heads of the working population that their Social Security benefits were sacrosanct; they had paid for them and they were owed them. Beware the politician who attempted to take them away.

Yet, in what is surely the most momentous development in the

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current presidential elections, Social Security is being presented as a system that is on its last legs, as a bad investment deal for individuals—supposedly justifying its privatization. In Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush's plan, the first decisive steps would be taken toward Social Security's privatization, with 2 percentage points of the Social Security payroll tax (16 percent of what the worker and his/her employer are taxed) being diverted to individual retirement accounts to be managed by private investment firms. This would mean that Social Security would lose an estimated trillion dollars in revenue in the first decade after the institution of the Bush plan, preparing the way for drastic curtailments of benefits and the further dismantlement/privatization of the system (*Wall Street Journal*, July 28, 2000). True, Bush claims that there would be no immediate cutbacks in benefits to *present Social Security recipients*. But the Bush proposal would leave Social Security permanently lacking a substantial portion of its revenues and therefore would create a severe long-term crisis for the system—as long as it continues to be treated as a self-supporting entity, to be funded entirely out of its own payroll tax revenue. The logic of Bush's approach is therefore aimed at reducing future benefits for today's workers and promoting the system's complete privatization.

The plan that Democratic presidential candidate Al Gore has presented to counter the Bush plan would establish government-subsidized investment accounts for working people that would consist of individual savings with matching income-tax credits, costing the federal government two hundred billion dollars in lost revenue over the next decade (*New York Times*, June 25, 2000). These accounts would not divert funds from Social Security—and are designed to counteract the greed factor in Bush's plan while protecting Social Security. Gore proposes to pay off the national debt with the current Treasury surpluses and then use the savings on interest payments on the debt to shore up Social Security. Nevertheless, leading Democrats in the Clinton era have increasingly bought the idea of Social Security privatization. Among its most vociferous advocates in Congress has been Gore's Vice Presidential running mate, Joseph Lieberman,

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Chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council. (Although he changed his tune the moment he was added to the Democratic ticket.) Under the Democrats, too, then, the future of Social Security is far from secure.

The New Deal and Social Security

In order to understand why Social Security is now on the chopping block, it is necessary to go back to the New Deal and the conditions under which it was conceived. In the social insurance schemes pioneered in Europe and existing in most industrialized countries, retirement benefits (and benefits associated with early death and disability) are paid to a considerable extent out of the general revenues of the government on a pay-as-you-go basis. But in the United States, the political climate during the New Deal forced the Roosevelt administration to concede to conservative demands that the costs of the system be borne entirely by workers and their employers through a regressive payroll tax specifically created for that purpose, and that a trust fund be set up to cover the resulting Old Age and Survivor's Insurance. A separate, jointly administered trust fund for disability was added later. The Social Security trust fund was to be calculated with the view of accumulating a reserve fund, based on actuarial principles. Annual projections of its financial condition seventy-five years into the future were to be provided. For Roosevelt, these conditions (particularly the payroll tax), although insisted upon by capital, were seen as a means of safeguarding the system. "Those taxes," he explained in a private exchange, "were never a problem of economics. They are politics all the way through. We put those payroll contributions there so as to give the contributors a legal, moral, and political right to collect their pensions and their unemployment benefits. With those taxes in there, no damn politician can ever scrap my social security program" (quoted in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal*, pp. 308-309).

The Roosevelt administration's Committee for Economic Security, which crafted the Social Security program, never intended that the payroll tax should remain the sole source of revenue for

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Social Security, which they believed would have to be supplemented eventually from the general funds of the government. This has been made clear by Thomas H. Eliot, the principal drafter of the Social Security Act, who wrote in the 1970s—in support of Congressional efforts to supplement Social Security with money from the general funds—that

> In 1935 as counsel to the President's Committee on Economic Security, I drafted the bill which, with some revisions, became the original Social Security Act. I now applaud your effort to supplement old age insurance funds with general revenues, and thus to get rid of the notion that the system should be forever "self-supporting."
>
> All the members of the committee and its large staff of experts agreed on the contributory principle: the ultimate beneficiary should contribute a part of the cost of his eventual old age annuity. They agreed too, that for a while the rest of the cost should be borne by the employers, through payroll taxes. But they assumed that before long, others than employers would also contribute—in other words, that both payroll taxes and income taxes would supplement the employee's contributions.
>
> All, that is, agreed, except the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau. When he saw a proposed press release saying that no general fund contributions would be required before 1965, he objected, and persuaded the President that the rates of payroll and earnings taxes should be raised, to make the system forever "self-supporting." The rest of the Committee and the staff greatly regretted this, for the earnings tax, while necessary to effectuate the contributory principle, is a regressive tax that should be held at a very low rate (Eliot, *Recollections of the New Deal*, p. 103).*

Enter Reaganomics

The first major confrontation over Social Security occurred in the early 1980s during the Reagan presidency. Reagan had promised to balance the federal budget. But the budget that he sent to Congress in 1981, because of the heavy expenditure on the military, would have led to record deficits, despite deep cuts in social expenditures. David Stockman, Reagan's budget director, decided that the only possibility of avoiding these huge deficits would be to raid Social Security. Rather than state this openly in the budget, however, he included forty billion dollars in "future

*The terminology used by Eliot may be slightly confusing. While it has become customary in the literature on Social Security to refer to both the taxes on the earnings of employees and the matching contributions of their employers under the common rubric of the "payroll tax," Eliot uses the term "employee contributions" for the former, restricting "payroll tax" to the latter. In this article, the more common practice of using "payroll tax" to refer to both is followed.

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savings to be identified." As Stockman later admitted, this was nothing but a euphemism for budgetary reductions to be won by "storming the twin citadels of Social Security and Medicare" (Stockman, *The Triumph of Politics*, p. 124-125). The Reagan administration's frontal assault on Social Security began on May 12, 1981. It included substantial reductions in benefits for those seeking early retirement at age sixty-two, plus cuts in basic benefits—altogether forty-five billion dollars in "savings." The Democrats, looking for political capital, rallied within days in defense of Social Security and, with public opinion solidly behind them, were able inflict the first major defeat on the Reagan administration.

But while a frontal assault on Social Security was no longer feasible, the Reagan administration continued to chip away at the system, with the complicity of leading Democrats, under the guise of "reform." Social Security in the early 1980s was commonly seen as facing a minor, short-term crisis, plus a more severe long-term crisis. The short-term crisis was an expected shortfall in the trust fund for Old Age and Survivor's Insurance (OASI) from the mid-1980s until the golden age of the 1990s—when Social Security surpluses would materialize, in the employment heyday of the baby-boom generation. This short-term crisis was accentuated by the provision made earlier on to link Social Security benefits to inflation. Since, in the stagflation years, wage increases fell well behind price increases, the Social Security payroll tax became insufficient to cover the rising benefit costs.

Yet, the short-term crisis was hardly a crisis at all, since it could have been largely remedied through reallocation of funds from the Disability Insurance Trust Fund (DI), which had reserves to about an equal extent. In other words, there was no genuine short-term crisis if OASI and DI were taken together (see Jacob Morris, "Social Security: The Phony Crisis," *MR*, February 1983).

The long-term crisis was one that was expected to occur sometime in the twenty-first century and was the real basis for claims of Social Security's impending insolvency. Social Security was bound to be exhausted, it was argued, during the years of retirement of the baby-boom generation, some fifty years down

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the road, when a growing number of retirees would have to be supported by a much smaller number of active workers. With Social Security going belly-up, the children and grandchildren of the baby-boom generation could be expected to be cheated of their retirement benefits. The fact that Social Security is a basic economic right as well as a human right, and not a business that could go bankrupt, has been consistently ignored in the rhetoric of its opponents.

The situation was ably summed up by Jacob Morris in *MR* in February 1983:

> The main purpose of the Reagan Social Security crisis-mongers (and their all too many Democratic Party helpers) in grossly exaggerating the "crisis" of the 1980s, is to demoralize our retired workers and soften them up, politically, for an immediate cut in cash benefits. . . . The main purpose of the gross exaggeration of the Social Security crisis of the twenty-first century is to demoralize the active workers who pay the current taxes which provide the current benefits for the retired workers, who are their parents and grandparents. The crisis-mongers want to drive a wedge between the generations; they want to weaken the political opposition of the younger workers to the current attack on the benefits of their parents and grandparents. But beyond that the enemies of Social Security want to soften up the many millions of younger workers for a dismantling of the whole system and for its partial replacement by individual insurance and private company pensions (12).

The Reagan administration and the Democrats came to an agreement in relation to the crisis of the 1980s, which included accelerating previously designated payroll-tax increases, forcing federal workers into the system, making Social Security benefits for those in higher income groups subject to income tax, increasing the Social Security tax for the self-employed, delaying cost-of-living adjustments for the currently retired, and gradually moving the retirement age from sixty-five to sixty-seven. In effect, the cost of Social Security's short-term problem was paid for by Social Security recipients themselves, partly through significant reductions in benefits.

The Social Security Surplus

A vast propaganda campaign over the past two decades, emanating from rightwing thinktanks such as the Cato Institute, has made the notion that Social Security is a dinosaur facing extinction an unchallenged axiom in media and political discourse. Yet

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current reality tells a different story. Today, Social Security is generating enormous surpluses. There is no question of a crisis in the system—if left alone—in the next few decades. Rather, all of the claims regarding its downfall are based on the long-term projections of the Board of Trustees of the Social Security system that the trust funds will be exhausted around 2037. This can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1

Estimates of Financial Condition of the Social Security System, 2000-2035
(in Billions of Dollars)

Calendar Year	(1) Income Excluding Interest	(2) Interest Income	(3) Total Income (cols. 1 + 2)	(4) Outgo	(5) Assets at End of Year
2000	500.7	64.9	565.7	410.3	1051.5
2005	635.1	120.1	755.3	538.6	2022.0
2010	810.3	194.0	1004.3	737.2	3262.9
2015	1034.5	280.5	1315.0	1045.2	4640.4
2020	1309.9	352.2	1662.1	1491.5	5738.7
2025	1649.8	376.0	2025.9	2065.7	6007.7
2030	2077.9	316.2	2394.0	2762.4	4866.2
2035	2620.4	136.3	2756.6	3571.7	1728.6

Source: Board of Trustees of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Funds, Annual Report 2000, House Document 106-21, 106th Congress, 2d Session. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 181. Note: Data based on intermediate-cost assumptions of Social Security trustees.

The enemies of Social Security often argue that the system will enter a severe crisis in 2015 when benefits paid out (Outgo in Table 1) are expected to exceed the income from the payroll tax (Income Excluding Interest). But Social Security is projected to have more than four and a half trillion dollars in assets at the end of that year as a result of its enormous—and growing—interest income. In 2025, the trust funds are projected to have six trillion dollars in assets, as compared to two trillion dollars in benefits payments. The Social Security trust funds are fully funded for nearly forty years, as the data in Table 1 demonstrate.

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At that time, a financial shortfall is projected, but it amounts to only 2 percent of total payrolls, or less than 1 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) over the next seventy-five years, and hence is easily manageable (*Business Week*, June 26, 2000, p. 32).

These figures are, of course, based on forecasts that project decades into the future. Economic forecasts are notoriously bad, even when making predictions only a year or two in advance. The Board of Trustees of the Social Security system provides projections based on low-cost, intermediate, and high-cost assumptions. The intermediate assumptions (upon which Table 1 is based) are generally considered to be the most realistic ones, and represent the best-guess assumptions of Social Security's Board of Trustees. These forecasts are seldom questioned, since they are based on extremely conservative assumptions. Thus the intermediate-cost assumptions forecast that the economic growth rate will drop to 1.7 percent between 2020 and 2040, compared to around 3 percent over the last seventy-five years. Such a pessimistic estimate implies severe economic strains, hardly enough economic growth to keep pace with the growth of labor supply and the jobs displaced by advancing productivity. A growth rate much closer to the long-term historical average would mean that not only would the Social Security funds not be exhausted forty years down the line, but that the crisis would be staved off indefinitely.

Even within the establishment framework assumed here, there is plenty of time to "fix" Social Security, if it appears to be running into trouble. But even in that far-fetched eventuality, why rely even on a 1 percent increase in the regressive sales tax (which would surely do the trick)? If there is a shortfall in the funds, it can be made up from the general revenue flowing to the Treasury which, as noted above, was part of the originally conceived Social Security program. Social Security can no more run out of money than the U.S. government itself can.

From Fear to Greed

Wall Street has consistently been the main force in the campaign to privatize Social Security. The Investment Company

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Institute, the trade association for the mutual-funds industry, has made the privatization of Social Security its top priority. The Cato Institute has been receiving millions of dollars annually from finance capital to support its relentless drive for Social Security's privatization. The Bush campaign received its largest contributions (5.9 million dollars as of July 2000) from the investment (securities) industry, which has made privatization of Social Security its primary political goal (*Wall Street Journal*, July 31, 2000). There is, of course, no mystery behind Wall Street's intense interest in Social Security's privatization. With a half trillion dollars in income this year from the payroll tax alone, and a trillion dollars in assets, Social Security is quite simply the biggest pot of gold around. The prospect of 140 million new investment accounts, from which financial interests can extract fees and commissions, is a potential gravy train that capital simply can't resist. Most of these new accounts could be expected to go into mutual funds, which is the reason why the mutual-funds industry is lobbying so hard for privatization. The flood of money coming into the market would also give an enormous lift to stock prices and further stimulate financial speculation. From the standpoint of insurance companies, the privatization of Social Security would remove government competition, allowing them vastly to expand their field of operations and profit-making opportunities.

Nevertheless, a big roadblock for capital's privatization campaign has been the growing difficulty of continuing to convince the public of Social Security's nonviability. With Social Security currently showing assets in excess of a trillion dollars, the idea that it is in crisis carries little immediate weight. Moreover, the populace has tended to respond to the threat of the system's demise not by jumping on the privatization bandwagon, but by demanding that Social Security in its original form be preserved and even expanded. Consequently, the argument based on fear has been supplemented in recent years by one based on greed. The contention is that individual accounts invested in private securities would provide superior rates of return, and thus would be a better way of providing for retirement security. Due to the illusion created by the present period of historically high stock

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valuations, people are led to believe that stock values almost always go up, almost never down, and thus constitute a means for getting rich quick—if only the funds they paid into Social Security were instead channeled into individual private accounts.

There are at least five things wrong with this logic. First, as we have seen, Social Security is not a pension or investment fund for individual workers but rather a system of social insurance designed to meet the needs of the disabled, the spousal survivors of workers, and the retired—as well as their families.

Second, the stock market is about risk and speculation, not about guaranteed high returns, and it is not to be counted on when it comes to something as basic as retirement income for working families. Stock market booms, such as the present one, are "bubble economies," which are normally followed by extended periods of much lower returns. Claims that investment in the stock market will *automatically* lead to rapid growth in retirement accounts are thus to be regarded as false promises, if not outright lies.*

Third, calculations on the return on private accounts fail to factor in unemployment and periods of financial distress for workers. As Michael Mandel, economics editor of *Business Week* explains in his book *The High-Risk Society* (1996), "workers could lose their job or suffer some other financial calamity in their later working years, so that they couldn't save for retirement" (195).

Fourth, a recent study by Henry Aaron and others for the Century Foundation (formerly the Twentieth Century Fund) has shown that cuts in benefits in Social Security, necessitated by the diversion of tax revenues, would drastically reduce the total benefits (both from Social Security and individual accounts) going to the average worker-pensioner. *Even if* the stock market were to perform equally well in the future as it has in the past—a highly dubious assumption in light of current historically high valuations—after thirty-five years of diverting 2 percentage

*The opponents of Social Security operate out of two sets of books. In forecasting the demise of the system, they adopt the intermediate projections of the Board of Trustees of the Social Security system, which predict a 1.7 percent rate of growth (conditions of severe economic stagnation) between 2020 and 2040. In projecting returns on investment accounts, they assume a continuing high rate of return, based on a booming stock market. Putting these two forecasts together is like predicting the Great Depression without a stock market crash.

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points of his or her Social Security payroll tax into a private investment account, the average retiring worker's combined benefits from both that account and Social Security would be *around 20 percent lower than the benefits guaranteed by Social Security under current law.* Losses would be even higher for low earners. For a thirty-year-old, married worker with a nonworking spouse earning 14,258 dollars in 2000, and retiring at age sixty-five, average total retirement income (from both Social Security and individual accounts) would drop, according to the Century Foundation, by 38 percent.*

Fifth, one advantage of Social Security is its low administrative costs—around 1 percent of total benefits paid each year. Much higher administrative costs, however, can be expected in a privatized system.† This was explained by Arthur Levitt, Chairman of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), in a speech delivered to Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government in October 1998. According to Levitt, "In Chile—considered the grandfather of Social Security privatization—one

*Henry J. Aaron, Alan S. Blinder, Alice H. Munnell, and Peter R. Orszag, "Governor Bush's Individual Account Proposal: Implications for Retirement Benefits," The Social Security Network, Issue Brief no. 11, July 2000, The Century Foundation <www.tcf.org>. In this report, it is assumed that all workers choose to opt into Bush's plan, and that benefit cuts are phased in (i.e, larger for those under fifty-five since they will have more time to derive earnings from individual accounts). Estimates on the rate of return of individual accounts are taken from the calculations of Martin Feldstein, a Bush adviser. It is presumed in the report that a Bush administration would not be able to use projected Treasury surpluses to cover the shortfall in Social Security caused by the diversion of payroll tax revenue, since these Treasury surpluses have already been fully committed by Bush's tax-cut proposals, which are a centerpiece of his campaign. Payroll-tax increases and investment of Social Security funds in the stock market (the other two major potential revenue sources) have also been rejected by Bush. Hence, benefit cuts are the only remaining way of dealing with the expected shortfall in funds for the social insurance system created by these decisions.

†Similarly, low administrative costs are associated with single-payer healthcare systems, such as the one that exists in Canada, where the administrative cost is 0.9 percent—about the same as Social Security. (Medicare in the United States has administrative costs around 2 percent.) In the privatized healthcare system in the United States, in contrast, the average health maintenance organization (HMO) takes around 14 percent for overhead and profits. It has been estimated that upwards of 11 percent of healthcare costs in the United States could be cut simply by shifting to a single-payer system, with no reduction in benefits. See Dean Baker and Mark Weisbrot, *Social Security: The Phony Crisis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 65.

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study found that fees shaved off almost one-third of the annual return in the first ten years of the system. One-third of these fees came from marketing and sales costs. This is not surprising since another report found that there were more than 20,000 selling agents going from house to house selling funds. Consequently, three out of ten Chilean investors switch fund companies every year." This produces much lower rates of return on investments, and hence lower benefits.

But Chile is not the only such example. "One need only look," Levitt observed, "at England's experience with Social Security reform. In 1998, the U.K. allowed individuals to opt out of their national public pension system and into private accounts. In what has become known as the 'mis-selling' controversy, high pressure sales tactics were used to persuade people to switch into unsuitable personal pension schemes. . . . These abusive sales practices, coupled with inadequate regulation, led to billions of dollars in losses for investors" who had their retirement benefits correspondingly reduced.

Some of the enemies of Social Security have tried to bolster their case by arguing that the spread of stock ownership resulting from privatization of Social Security would create a nation of capitalists. Yet, this should be dismissed as the smoke-and-mirrors scam that it is. "Consider," SEC Chairman Levitt explains, "a system of 140 million accounts—one for every American worker. Some plans [such as George W. Bush's] would put 2 percent of the payroll tax into an individual account. But for the roughly 40 million workers who earn less than $8,500 a year, that equals $170 or less per year. This is not a lot of money from which to build up a portfolio. And, administrative costs may quickly eat into any higher return from individual accounts for lower-income workers." In other words, accumulation of substantial retirement benefits would be almost impossible for tens of millions of workers under the payroll-tax diversion scheme. A more likely result would be the disaccumulation of retirement benefits in comparison to what would have been guaranteed by Social Security alone.

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The foregoing analysis points to a reality often obscured by the debate about Social Security's financial integrity: that it is a question of class and social justice, not economics. Why should Social Security have to meet the test of financial integrity, paying for itself through its own revenues rather than relying on the general fund, while the gargantuan military budget does not? Why should shortfalls in payroll-tax revenue justify a failure on the part of government to keep its promises to the working population? Merely to ask these questions is to address fundamental relations of power in U.S. society. The fate of Social Security will be decided, in the end, not by financial ingenuity, nor by the promises of the Democratic party, but by the respective powers of the combatants, i.e., the class struggle.

"We have been in a reform movement....But after Selma and the voting rights bill [in 1965] we moved into a new era, which must be an era of revolution. I think we must see the great distinction here between a reform movment and a revolutionary movement."—Martin Luther King, Jr., Remarks to SCLC staff in 1967, quoted in David J. Garrow, The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.

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SNCC: What We Did

by Julian Bond

2000 marks the fortieth anniversary of the southern sit-in movement, the emergence of the civil rights struggle of the 1960s, and the founding of its most dynamic component, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). We believe it is important to look back at the achievements of those courageous men and women, both to celebrate their struggle and to learn from their experience. The following article is adapted from a talk originally given last summer at a seminar for college and university teachers, on the history of the civil rights movement at Harvard's W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Studies—Eds.

"Strong people don't need strong leaders," Ella Baker told us. We were strong people; we did strong things. These are some of the things we did.

It began for me as it did for many others in early 1960. On February 4, I was sitting in a café near my college campus in Atlanta, Georgia. It was our hangout, a place where students went between—or instead of—classes. A fellow student named Lonnie King approached me with a copy of that day's Atlanta *Daily World*, the local black newspaper. The headline read: GREENSBORO STUDENTS SIT-IN FOR THIRD DAY!

In exact detail, the story told how black college students from North Carolina A & T University in Greensboro had, for the third consecutive day, entered a Woolworth's Five and Ten Cents Store and asked for service at the whites-only lunch counter. It described their demeanor, their dress, and their determination to return the following day—and for as many days as it took to gain the service they were denied.

"Have you seen this?" Lonnie demanded.

Julian Bond was Communications Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from 1960 until 1965, when he was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives. Today, he is Distinguished Professor in Residence at the School of Government at American University in Washington, D.C., and a professor of History at the University of Virginia. In February 2000, he was elected to a third term as Chair of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).
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"Yes, I have," I replied.

"What do you think about it?" he inquired.

"I think it's great!"

"Don't you think it ought to happen here?" he asked.

"Oh, I'm sure it will happen here," I responded. "Surely someone here will do it."

Then it came to me, as it did to many others in those early days in 1960—a query, an invitation, and a command: "Why don't we make it happen here?"

The two of us and our friend, Joe Pierce, canvassed the café, talked to students, invited them to discuss the Greensboro events and to duplicate them in Atlanta. The Atlanta student movement had begun. We recruited schoolmates and with them formed an organization, reconnoitered downtown lunch counters, and within a few weeks, seventy-seven of us had been arrested.

In an early 1960 Freedom Song, "Ballad of the Student Sit-ins," written by Guy Carawan, Eve Merriam, and Norma Curtis, the young students who joined together to create the southern student movement were described this way:*

> The time was 1960, the place the USA,
> That February 1st became a history-making day.
> From Greensboro across the land, the news spread
> far and wide,
> As quietly and bravely, youth took a giant stride.
>
> (Chorus) Heed the call, Americans all, side by equal side.
> Sisters, sit in dignity, brothers sit in pride.
> From Mobile, Alabama to Nashville, Tennessee.
> From Denver, Colorado to Washington, D. C.
> There rose a cry for freedom, for human liberty.
>
> The time has come to prove our faith in all men's dignity.
> We serve the cause of justice, of all humanity.
> We're soldiers in the army, with Martin Luther King,
> Peace and love our weapons, nonviolence is our creed.
>
> (Chorus)

*"Ballad of the Student Sit-ins," words and music by Guy Carawan, Eve Merriam, and Norman Curtis, in *Sing for Freedom*, Guy and Candie Carawan, eds. (Bethlehem, PA: a Sing Out Publication, 1990). Many thanks to Guy Carawan for permission to reprint.

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This is a land we cherish, a land of liberty.
How can Americans deny all men equality?
Our Constitution says we can't and Christians, you should know
Jesus died that morning, so all mankind could know.

(Chorus)

No mobs of violence and hate shall turn us from our goal,
No Jim Crow laws nor police state shall stop my free bound soul,
Three thousand students bound in jail still lift their heads and sing,
We'll travel on to freedom, like songbirds on the wing.

(Chorus)

As former President Jimmy Carter told former SNCC worker and author Mary King, "if you wanted to scare white people in Southwest Georgia, Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wouldn't do it. You only had to say one word—SNCC." SNCC was founded in 1960 by southern student protesters engaged in sit-in demonstrations against lunch-counter segregation. Within a year, it evolved from a coordinating agency to a hands-on organization, helping local leadership in rural and small-town communities across the South participate in a variety of protests, as well as in political and economic organizing campaigns. This set SNCC apart from the civil rights mainstream of the 1960s. Its members, its youth, and its organizational independence enabled SNCC to remain close to grassroots currents that rapidly escalated the southern movement from sit-ins to freedom rides, and then from voter drives to political organizing.

By 1965, SNCC fielded the largest staff of any civil rights organization in the South. It had organized nonviolent direct action against segregated facilities, as well as voter-registration projects, in Alabama, Arkansas, Maryland, Missouri, Louisiana, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi; built two independent political

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parties and organized labor unions and agricultural cooperatives; and given the movement for women's liberation new energy. It inspired and trained the activists who began the "New Left." It helped expand the limits of political debate within black America, and broadened the focus of the civil rights movement. Unlike mainstream civil rights groups, which merely sought integration of blacks into the existing order, SNCC sought structural changes in American society itself.

In 1960, the dominant organization fighting for civil rights was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Its preferred method was litigation and it had achieved its greatest victory in 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education*, outlawing segregation in public schools. The NAACP lobbied Congress and presidents to adopt antisegregation measures. Its local branches were often the main civil rights outposts in communities. The NAACP—and similar groups and many individuals—fought against a system of racial domination that whites had solidified over time. The system, as Aldon Morris wrote in *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, "protected the privileges of white society and generated tremendous human suffering for blacks. In the cities and rural areas of the South, blacks were controlled economically, politically and personally," relegated to the worst jobs, prevented—often by force and terror—from free participation in the political process, and denied due process of law and personal freedoms that all whites routinely enjoyed.

Ironically, a consequence of segregation was the development of institutions in close-knit communities, churches, schools, and organizations that nurtured and encouraged the fight against white supremacy. The young people who began the 1960 student sit-in movement lived and learned among such institutions. The student movement's goals were described to the Democratic Convention's Platform Committee in 1960 by SNCC's first Chair, Marion Barry, as "seeking a community in which man can realize the full meaning of self, which demands open relationships with others." Barry declared southern students wanted an end to racial discrimination in housing, education, employment, and voting. SNCC's goals were set out in similar terms by Executive

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Secretary James Forman in 1961 as "working full-time against the whole value system of this country and by working toward revolution;" in 1963, as a "program of developing, building and strengthening indigenous leadership;" and by third SNCC Chair John Lewis, at the 1963 March on Washington, as building "a serious social revolution" against "American politics dominated by politicians who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic and social exploitation."

SNCC pioneered first-time electoral races by blacks in the deep South in the 1960s, while adding foreign-policy demands to the black political agenda, thus broadening the acceptable limits of political discourse. SNCC was in the vanguard in demonstrating that independent black politics could be successful. Its early attempts to use black candidates to raise issues in races where victory was unlikely expanded the political horizon. SNCC's development of independent political parties mirrored the philosophy that political form must follow function and that nonhierarchical organizations were necessary to counter the growth of cults of personality and self-reinforcing leadership.

For much of its early history, SNCC battled against the fear that had kept rural southern blacks from wholeheartedly organizing and acting on their own behalf. It strengthened or built aggressive, locally led movements in the communities where it worked. While organizing grassroots voter-registration drives, SNCC workers offered themselves as a protective barrier between private and state-sponsored terror and the local communities where SNCC staffers lived and worked.

The rural South that SNCC encountered in 1961 had a long history of civil rights activism; in many instances, however, SNCC staffers were the first paid civil rights workers to base themselves in isolated rural communities, daring to "take the message of freedom into areas where the bigger civil rights organizations fear to tread." SNCC workers were more numerous and less transient than those from other civil rights organizations and their method of operation was different as well.

The NAACP was outlawed in Alabama in 1956 and did not

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begin operating there again until 1964, although NAACP activists continued under other sponsorship. In 1962, the NAACP had one field secretary each in South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, and a regional staff headquartered in Atlanta. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) hired its first field secretary in 1960; in 1964, SCLC staff numbered sixty-two. By summer 1965, SCLC had staff in every southern state except Florida and Tennessee. Much of the organization's work, like the NAACP's effort, was conducted through affiliates. The historian Adam Fairclough wrote, "SCLC has to adopt a strategy of 'hit and run,' striking one target at a time." SCLC's willingness to run as well as hit provoked consistent criticism from SNCC, which organized the same communities for years rather than months or weeks.

"SCLC mobilized," someone said. "SNCC organized."

By the spring of 1963, SNCC had eleven staff members in southwest Georgia, and twenty staff members—and six offices—in Mississippi. By August, SNCC had projects and permanent staff in a dozen Mississippi communities; in Selma, Alabama; Danville, Virginia; and Pine Bluff, Arkansas. There were twelve workers in the Atlanta headquarters, sixty field secretaries, and 121 fulltime volunteers.

Typically, SNCC began campaigns by exploring the economic and political history of a target community. Field workers were supplied by SNCC's own research office with detailed information on a community's economic and financial power structure, tracing corporate relationships from local bankers and business leadership in a local White Citizens Council to the largest U.S. banks and corporations. Other research, like the report on "The Economic Status of Blacks in Alabama" provided invaluable intelligence on the condition of the state's black population.

SNCC organizers spent their first weeks in a new community meeting local leadership, formulating with them an action plan for more aggressive registration efforts, and recruiting new activists through informal conversation, painstaking house-to-house canvassing, and regular mass meetings. Registering rural southern blacks, a SNCC worker wrote, "would greatly liberate

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American politics as a whole. At the very least, these new voters would defeat the powerful, hidebound, Southern Democrats who were holding the reigns of Congress and the Senate on the basis of being elected year after year from districts where Black citizens were denied the franchise. The Southern Democratic legislators weren't just holding up civil rights legislation, they were a serious impediment to any kind of meaningful social or economic changes." SNCC and other organizations fought white terrorism and helped create a willingness to risk danger in order to register to vote. By one estimate, reported in Pat Watters' and Reese Cleghorn's *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Arrival of the Negro in Southern Politics*, "a majority of the unregistered had at least been confronted with registration's challenge" by 1965.

SNCC's broader definition of the civil rights movement's purposes was obvious from its beginning. At its founding conference, in April 1960, SNCC Executive Committee member Charles Jones declared that "this movement will affect other areas beyond [lunch counter] services, such as politics and economics." A report from the conference concluded with a warning about America's false preoccupations in early 1960: "Civil defense and economic power alone will not insure the continuation of Democracy," it said.

> Democracy itself demands the great intangible strength of the people able to unite in a common endeavor because they are granted human dignity. This challenge cannot be met unless and until all Americans enjoy the full promise of our democratic heritage—first class citizenship.

Another recommendation noted:

> Students have a natural claim to leadership in this project. They have pioneered in nonviolent direct action. Now we can show we understand the political implications of our movement—that it goes far beyond lunch counters. We are convinced of the necessity of all local areas joining in the campaign to secure the right to vote. No right is more basic to the American citizen, none more basic to a democracy.

Within four months of these declarations, SNCC volunteer worker Robert Moses was planning a student-staffed voter-registration project in all-black Mound Bayou in the Mississippi Delta for the summer of 1961. The state of Mississippi became a laboratory for SNCC's unique methods of organizing. SNCC's work began in southwestern Mississippi in 1961, but when its

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workers were driven from the area by violence, state suppression, and federal indifference, the organization regrouped in Jackson and in Mississippi's Delta counties in early 1962.

Earlier in 1961, SNCC's Nashville affiliate had continued the Freedom Rides, a direct-action campaign launched by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) that year to integrate interstate bus lines, when Alabama violence threatened to bring them to a halt. After they were released from Parchman Penitentiary, many jailed Freedom Riders had joined the McComb movement. Several became part of the organizing cadre for the Mississippi movement that followed. Unencumbered by allegiances to the national Democratic Party, which frequently constrained other, older organizations, SNCC encouraged two black candidates to run for Congress from Mississippi; Moses served as unofficial campaign manager. They ran, wrote James Forman, "to shake loose the fear" among blacks, and, through their progressive platforms, gave their intended constituents an expanded notion of what meaning politics might have in their lives. They talked about issues that no white Mississippi politicians had ever dreamed of mentioning—ideas which resonate even today. In his book, *Jackson, Mississippi,* John R. Salter described these ideas

> as legislation to improve the school system, a broader plan of medical coverage, and special training facilities to develop industrial skills among the great mass of Mississippians who lacked these completely.

To demonstrate that disenfranchised Mississippi blacks did want to vote, SNCC mounted a "Freedom Vote" campaign in November 1963. Over eighty thousand blacks cast votes in a mock election for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. One hundred white northern students worked in this campaign (including Yale student Joseph Lieberman), attracting attention from the Department of Justice and the national media as black registration workers had never done, and paving the way for the "Freedom Summer" campaign in 1964.

"Freedom Summer" brought one thousand, mostly white, volunteers to Mississippi for the summer of 1964. They helped build the new political party SNCC had organized, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP); registered voters; and

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staffed twenty-eight "Freedom Schools" intended by their designer, Charles Cobb, "to provide an education which will make it possible for them to challenge the myths of our society, to perceive more clearly its realities, and to find alternatives, and ultimately new directions for action."

Over the next several years, SNCC-backed candidates for Congress ran in Albany, Georgia; Selma, Alabama; Danville, Virginia; and Enfield, North Carolina. SNCC helped candidates for Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Boards in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Mississippi; aided school board candidates in Arkansas in 1965; and worked toward "solving the economic problems of the Southern Negro" by organizing the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and Poor People's Corporation and mounting economic boycotts against discriminatory merchants.

Among SNCC's contributions to electoral politics were the formation of two political parties—the aforementioned MFDP and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO)—and the conception and implementation of my successful campaigns for the Georgia State Legislature. The MFDP challenged the seating of the regular, all-white delegation from Mississippi at the 1964 Democratic Convention and, in 1965, challenged the seating of Mississippi's congressional delegation in Washington. The convention challenge ended in failure when pressures from President Lyndon Johnson erased promised support from party liberals. An offer was made—and rejected—of two convention seats to be filled by the national party, not the Freedom Democrats, to which Fannie Lou Hamer declared, "We didn't come for no two seats when all of us is tired!"

Each challenge served as an object lesson for strengthening black political independence, and the organizing and lobbying efforts for each laid the groundwork for congressional passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The MFDP served as a prototype for the model of Black Power advocated and popularized by Stokely Carmichael. In 1965, the McComb MFDP Branch became the first black political organization to express opposition to the war in Vietnam. State MFDP officials not only refused to

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repudiate the McComb statement, they reprinted it in the state MFDP newsletter, giving it wider circulation and laying the groundwork for future black opponents of the war.

The MFDP's legal efforts against white resistance to political equality proved important to black political efforts across the South. An MFDP-directed lawsuit resulted in the Supreme Court's landmark 1969 decision in *Allen v. State Board of Elections*, 393 U.S. 544 (1969). Frank Parker, in *Black Votes Count*, wrote that the victory was "critical to continuing black political progress throughout the South. For the first time," he asserted, "[although in the context of interpreting the Voting Rights Act rather than applying constitutional principles] the Supreme Court recognized and applied the principle of minority vote dilution—that the black vote can be affected as much by dilution as by an absolute prohibition on casting a ballot."

The mid-sixties were a turning point in the southern human rights struggle. Federal legislation passed in 1964 and 1965 accomplished the immediate goals of many in the civil rights movement. Cleveland Sellers wrote, "When the federal government passed bills that supposedly supported Black voting and outlawed public segregation, SNCC lost the initiative in these areas." Northern urban riots in the late sixties made the nation and southern civil rights workers aware that victories at lunch counters and ballot boxes meant little to blacks locked in northern ghettoes. "The North was a different thing," CORE Director James Farmer wrote. "Civil rights organizations had left the Northern poor to Malcolm X. . . . The movement had been means-oriented up until the March on Washington, now as the poor in the streets came in, the Movement ceased being that. Ghetto folks had been politicized by the Muslims, by Malcolm X, and by others. They were not means-oriented; they demanded results, concrete results." SNCC had long believed its work ought to be expanded to larger cities in the South and outside the region. Executive Committee minutes from December 1963 record James Forman asserting that "SNCC is going to have to go into the poor sections of large cities to work."

My campaign for the Georgia House of Representatives in 1965

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was an attempt to take the techniques SNCC had learned in the rural South into an urban setting, and to carry forward SNCC's belief that grassroots politics could provide answers to problems faced by urban blacks in the United States. In keeping with SNCC's style, a platform was developed in consultation with the voters. The campaign supported a two-dollar minimum wage, repeal of the right-to-work law, and abolition of the death penalty. When the legislature twice rejected me, objecting to my support of SNCC's antiwar position, the resulting two campaigns gave SNCC a chance to successfully test its critique of American imperialism at the ballot box. The campaign—like the MFDP—enabled SNCC to provide a political voice for the politically powerless and inarticulate black poor.

In 1966 in Alabama, SNCC helped to create a black political party called the LCFO, "an independent political party which would prove to be a factor in Alabama politics for years to come. . . . The political consciousness of some of Alabama's blacks had been raised to another level." The party was formed in reaction to the racism of local and state Democratic parties. Like the MFDP, the new party was open to whites, but no whites in Lowndes County would participate in a black-dominated political effort.

Concurrently with the organizing efforts of the MFDP and LCFO and the Bond campaign, SNCC was reassessing its concentration on the South. At a retreat in May 1966, Ivanhoe Donaldson argued in favor of SNCC's replicating its successful southern political organizing efforts in the North, and the staff agreed. Donaldson and Robert Moses suggested that techniques learned in southern campaigns could be employed to ease SNCC's passage into northern cities. Organizing for political power and community control could mobilize northern urban-dwellers, they contended. Michael Thelwell proposed that the organization move "to the ghetto and organize those communities to control themselves. The organization must be attempted in Northern and Southern areas as well as in the rural Black belt of the South," Thelwell said.

Projects were established in Washington, D.C., to fight for home rule; in Columbus, Ohio, where a community foundation

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was organized; in New York City's Harlem, where SNCC workers organized early efforts at community control of public schools; in Los Angeles, where SNCC helped monitor local police and joined an effort at creating a "Freedom City" in black neighborhoods; and in Chicago, where SNCC workers began to build an independent political party and demonstrated against segregated schools. In each of these cities, the southern experiences of SNCC organizers informed their work.

As SNCC Chair, Marion Barry had written members of Congress in 1960 to "urge immediate action to provide self-government to the vote-less residents of our nation's capitol, the District of Columbia." In February 1966, Barry, then Director of SNCC's Washington Office, announced the formation of the "Free D.C. Movement" (FDCM). He wrote, "The premise . . . is that we want to organize Black people for Black power." Barry and the FDCM conducted a successful boycott of Washington merchants who did not support home rule. In New York, SNCC worker William Hall helped a Harlem group working for community control of Intermediate School 201 in Fall 1966. His efforts laid the groundwork for later successful protests for community control of schools throughout the city. In Los Angeles, SNCC worker Clifford Vaughs described his work as "a manifestation of self-help, self-determination, power for poor people." As the focus of the southern movement had changed, so would the aim of the northern organizer. Desegregation had proven both illusive and insufficient to the problems of American blacks in the north or south. The black community's ability to have control over itself and its elected officials had become paramount in rural Mississippi as well as in urban New York.

Just as its concern for social change had never been limited to the southern states alone, SNCC's concern for human rights had long extended beyond the borders of the United States. It had linked the fight of American blacks with the struggle for African independence from its first public statements. At its founding conference, SNCC first announced its identification with the African liberation struggle. "We identify ourselves with the African struggle as a concern for all mankind," they said. At SNCC's

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Fall 1960 conference in Atlanta, a featured speaker was Alphonse Okuku, an Antioch College student and brother of Kenyan labor leader Tom MBoya. The mass-meeting program said Okuku "brings to our attention the great significance of the African struggle and its relationship to our fight." SNCC Chairman John Lewis told the March on Washington in 1963, "One man, one vote is the African cry. It must be ours!"

In December 1963, SNCC workers in Atlanta conferred with Kenyan leader Oginga Odinga and, in September 1964, an eleven-member SNCC delegation went to Guinea as guests of that country's President, Sekou Touré. Two members of the group toured Africa for a month following the Guinea trip. In October 1965, two SNCC workers represented SNCC at the annual meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Ghana.

SNCC's January 1966 antiwar statement charged the United States with being "deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa and the United States itself." Singer Harry Belafonte organized a supportive reception at the United Nations with fifteen African diplomats and myself in early 1966, and on March 22, 1966, seven SNCC workers—John Lewis, James Bond, James Forman, Cleveland Sellers, Willie Ricks, Judy Richardson, and William Hall—were arrested at the South African Consulate in New York, *preceding by twenty years* the "Free South Africa Movement" that later saw hundreds arrested at the South African embassy in Washington.

At a June 1967 staff meeting, SNCC declared itself a human rights organization, dedicated to the "liberation not only of Black people in the United States but of all oppressed people, especially those in Africa, Asia and Latin America." At that meeting, Forman became director of SNCC's International Affairs Commission; in this capacity, he visited Tanzania and Zambia. SNCC Chair Stokely Carmichael visited Algeria, Syria, Egypt, Guinea, and Tanzania in mid-1967. In November 1967, Forman testified for SNCC before the United Nation's Fourth Committee against U.S. investments in South Africa.

There are many reasons for SNCC's demise despite its clear

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historic consequence. The current of nationalism, ever-present in black America, widened at the end of the 1960s to become a rushing torrent that swept away the hopeful notion of "black and white together" that the decade's beginning had promised. SNCC's white staff members were asked to leave the organization and devote their energies to organizing in white communities; some agreed, but most believed this action repudiated the movement's hopeful call to "Americans all, side by equal side." For many on the staff, both white and black, nearly a decade's worth of hard work at irregular, subsistence-level pay, in an atmosphere of constant tension, interrupted by jailings, beatings, and official and private terror, proved too much to bear.

Nonetheless, when measured by the legislative accomplishments of the 1964 Civil Rights and 1965 Voting Rights Acts, SNCC's efforts were successful. But the failure of the MFDP to gain recognition at Atlantic City presaged the coming collapse of support from liberals. The murders in 1963 of four schoolgirls in Birmingham and of Medgar Evers in Jackson, of civil rights workers and others in Mississippi in 1964, and Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968 indicated that nonviolence was no antidote to a violent society. The outbreak of urban violence at the decade's end further produced a sense of frustration and alienation in many SNCC veterans.

Throughout its brief history, SNCC insisted on group-centered leadership and community-based politics. It made clear the connection between economic power and racial oppression. It refused to define racism as a solely southern phenomenon, to describe racial inequality as caused by irrational prejudice alone, or to limit its struggle solely to guaranteeing legal equality. It challenged U.S. imperialism while mainstream civil rights organizations were silent or curried favor with President Lyndon Johnson, condemning SNCC's linkage of domestic and international poverty and racism with overseas adventurism. SNCC refused to apply political tests to its membership or supporters, opposing the redbaiting that other organizations and leaders endorsed or condoned. And it created an atmosphere of expectation and anticipation among the people with whom it worked,

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trusting them to make decisions about their own lives. Thus SNCC widened the definition of politics beyond campaigns and elections; for SNCC, politics encompassed not only electoral races, but also organizing political parties, labor unions, producer cooperatives, and alternative schools.

SNCC initially sought to transform southern politics by organizing and enfranchising blacks. One proof of its success was the increase in black elected officials in the southern states from seventy-two in 1965 to 388 in 1968. But SNCC also sought to amplify the ends of political participation by enlarging the issues of political debate to include the economic and foreign-policy concerns of American blacks. SNCC's articulation and advocacy of Black Power redefined the relationship between black Americans and white power. No longer would political equity be considered a privilege; it had become a right.

A final SNCC legacy is the destruction of the psychological shackles which had kept black southerners in physical and mental peonage; SNCC helped break those chains forever. It demonstrated that ordinary women and men, young and old, could perform extraordinary tasks.

They did then and can do so again.

A note on sources and suggestions for further reading:

This essay has made extensive use of the papers of SNCC, interviews with Ivanhoe Donaldson, William Hall, and letters from and between SNCC staffers. Important books utilized, and recommended for further reading are: Braden, Anne, *The Wall Between* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1958); Branch, Taylor, *Parting The Waters: America in The King Years, vols. 1 & 2* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988); Carson, Clayborn, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Forman, James, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (Seattle: Open Hand Press, 1985); Forman, James, *1967: High Tide of Black Resistance* (Seattle: Open Hand Press, 1994); Grant, Joanne, *Ella Baker: Freedom Bound* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998); King, Mary, *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1987); Marable, Manning, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1984); Sellers, Cleveland and Robert Terrell, *The River of No Return* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1973); Sullivan, Patricia, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Zinn, Howard, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965). A reference-noted version of this paper is available from the *Monthly Review* office.

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The Taiping Peasant Revolt

by John Newsinger

Writing in the New York *Daily Tribune* in June 1853, Karl Marx argued that it was quite probable that "the next uprising of the people of Europe" would depend "on what is now passing in the Celestial Empire," on "the Chinese revolution." He went on:

> it may safely be augured that the Chinese revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system and cause the explosion of the long-prepared general crisis . . . It would be a curious spectacle, that of China sending disorder into the Western World . . .[1]

Of course, Marx's hopes that events in China would precipitate a fresh revolutionary wave in Europe, reviving the spirit of 1848, remained unfulfilled. Nevertheless, what was this Chinese revolution of which he initially had such high expectations?

The Taiping peasant revolt was the greatest revolutionary outbreak of the nineteenth century, sweeping up millions of people into a fourteen-year struggle to overthrow the Qing dynasty and establish a messianic Christian theocracy. Inspired by their reading of the Old Testament, the rebels called for the abolition of landlordism and the establishment of a form of primitive communism. They banned prostitution, infanticide, the binding of women's feet, and the smoking of opium. While certainly not feminists in any modern sense, the position of women in the Taiping movement went a considerable way toward establishing women's equality.[2] The rebels came close to victory but were, in the end, defeated, totally destroyed, eradicated by Qing armies, which were armed and assisted by the Western powers, in particular by Britain. The war to destroy the Taiping revolt was the most terrible in human history, until the First World War.

Today, the history of the Taiping revolt is virtually unknown in

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the West.[3] It deserves to be remembered, for all its many faults, weaknesses, and limitations, as a mass uprising against oppression and exploitation and for the establishment of a better world.

The Outbreak of the Revolt

The Taiping movement had its origins in the preaching of Hong Xiuquan, the son of a peasant farmer, who believed he was the son of God and the younger brother of Jesus. In the context of China in the 1840s, where increasing hardship and oppression were the lot of the poor, where revolt was endemic, and where the Qing dynasty was discredited by its defeat at the hands of the British in the First Opium War, Hong's messianic Christianity found an eager audience. His condemnations of the ruling class and his promises of social justice, all dressed up in the trappings of religious revelation, fired the imagination of thousands of desperate people in his home province of Guangxi. A growing number of peasants, miners, and outlaws rallied to his cause, swelling the ranks of the so-called God-worshippers. [4]

Writing in 1856, a British consular official named Thomas Taylor Meadows noted the Taiping intention "to adopt institutions of equality and communism." He went on:

> For the poor day labourer, the institution of equality of property, or at least of a sufficiency for every man, which is promised by the Tae ping leaders, is of course peculiarly attractive . . . Among the uneducated, therefore, the Tae pings will gain, as they have already gained numbers of perfectly voluntary adherents; and herein lies a great element of success. For war is essentially a contest of physical forces and the Tae pings are certain of constant accessions of the best sinew and muscle of the country.

He compared them favorably to the English revolutionaries of the 1640s. The other side of the coin, of course, was that "the property-holding classes as a body," took "the side of the Imperialists."[5] Another contemporary account argued that the Taiping rebels had "the Spirit of the Fifth Monarchy Men," the English messianic revolutionaries of the 1650s.

The first armed clashes with Qing troops took place in December 1850, with the rebels emerging triumphant. At last aware of the threat that the movement posed, the authorities sent a substantial force to crush the God-worshippers once and for all.

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In early January 1851, a ten-thousand-strong rebel army (with men and women fighting side by side) routed the Imperial troops at the town of Jintian. Soon after, Hong proclaimed the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace (Taiping Tianguo) and himself the Heavenly King (Tian Wang).

Confronted with the massing of Imperial forces making ready for an all-out assault, the Taiping rebels adopted the methods of mobile warfare. Abandoning their homes and possessions, the rebels began an incredible march that was to only end with their storming of the great Imperial city of Nanjing in March 1853. Breaking through Imperial lines in August 1851, the Taipings made their way overland and by river, beating off Imperial attacks, capturing towns and cities. They suffered occasional setbacks and defeats, but all the while grew stronger. Thousands and thousands of the poor and downtrodden rallied to their cause. When they were repulsed from Changsha in September 1852, their numbers were estimated at 120,000; by the time they captured Wuchang in January 1853, they were five hundred thousand strong; and when Nanjing fell, the Qing authorities estimated the movement's strength at two million. Hong proclaimed Nanjing his capital.

The fall of Nanjing, a city with forty-foot walls that extended for twenty-five miles, dealt the Qing regime a serious blow and provoked widespread panic. The Taiping revolt had inspired the lower classes throughout the Empire and there can be little doubt that the Qing regime was close to collapse. At this point, Hong decided not to press on and complete the job with the capture of Beijing. This was a fateful decision that allowed the Qing time to recover and surrendered the initiative to the Imperial armies.

Augustus Lindley, a British volunteer who fought in the Taiping ranks, later concluded:

> The occupation of Nanking has proved fateful to the success of the Ti-ping's . . . Insurrection, of whatever kind, to be successful, must never relinquish the aggressive movement; directly it acts upon the defensive, unless possessing some wonderful organization, its power is broken. The principal element of revolutionary success is rapidity of action, and when once this is forsaken, the consolidated strength of an established constitution is advantageously brought to bear against rebellion.

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He added that for Hong to establish his capital at Nanjing before completing the overthrow of the Manchus was "a vital error . . . one that lost him the empire."[7]

An expedition was sent north to attack Beijing, but all the movement's resources would have been required for such a campaign to have succeeded. Instead, the Northern Expedition was eventually surrounded and destroyed by overwhelming Imperial forces.

The Kingdom of Heavenly Peace

The regime that Hong established in Nanjing took a very different form than the egalitarianism that was preached on the march. While a form of communism was established for the rank and file, with a common or "sacred" treasury issuing food and clothing according to need for the mass of the people, the Taiping leadership established themselves as a new warrior-priest aristocracy. There was a dramatic proliferation of kings, who took to living in splendor in great palaces, surrounded by servants, bodyguards, and all the accoutrements of wealth and power. For the Taiping rank-and-file, monogamy was the rule and promiscuity was punished by death; for the Taiping aristocracy, Old Testament polygamy was introduced!

Amidst this luxury, the quarrels, jealousies, and disagreements among the leadership assumed a murderous form. Hong's righthand man, Yang Xinqing, the architect of Taiping military success, aspired to equality of status with Hong and effective control over the movement. This struggle for power was settled in September 1856 when Yang, his family, and his supporters were massacred by troops loyal to Hong. The most able of the Taiping leaders had been eliminated without the Qing having to lift a finger.

Despite all this, the movement still had massive popular support throughout China. Its promise of land reform, a common treasury, and the overthrow of the landlords inspired millions of people. The Qing and their gentry supporters were only able to maintain control by the most ferocious repression, piling up a mountain of skulls. At Canton, a special court established by the

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governor had ordered over thirty-two thousand beheadings by May 1856. This level of repression was repeated everywhere the ruling class suspected unrest.[8] Nevertheless, for all its faults and weaknesses, the Taiping cause remained a source of hope, able to inspire its adherents to epics of heroism and endurance that kept the Qing armies at bay. Stalemate prevailed for awhile, but did not last indefinitely.

Enter the British

While China was gripped by the Taiping revolt, the British were engaged in bringing the Qing regime under their informal control. China had not been incorporated into the British Empire as India was, but the Chinese government had been taught to do what the British wanted. The First Opium War began the process of opening the country to foreign exploitation, but British demands led to the Second and Third Opium Wars that saw Anglo-French troops occupy Beijing in 1860.[9]

For a while, the Taiping movement was useful to the British because it helped weaken the Qing regime, and, moreover, the Taipings were Christians—although not the kind that proved acceptable to the Europeans. The overriding British concern, however, was the safeguarding of the immensely profitable opium trade, which led to military action against the Taipings—even as the British continued to proclaim their neutrality. This finally tipped the scales against the rebels.

In April 1859, Hong was joined in Nanjing by his cousin, Hong Rengan, who was installed as his chief minister. Hong Rengan was certainly a true believer, but he did not see the Taiping movement as a social revolutionary movement. As far as he was concerned, once the Qing had finally been overthrown, the Taipings would look to the West for assistance in modernizing China—favoring a path similar to that taken by Japan. To this end, he proposed a new strategy that would involve the capture of Shanghai, the West's major concession port. This would give the Taipings control of the port's substantial customs revenues (which were financing the Qing war effort), access to supplies of modem weaponry and military equipment, and, hopefully, West-

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ern allies. There was complete, if misguided, confidence that the British would welcome the Taipings, both as fellow Christians and because they were also at war with the Qing regime.

The Taipings inflicted a crushing defeat on Qing forces threatening Nanjing in May 1860, making possible a descent on Shanghai by troops under the ablest of their generals, Li Xiucheng, known as the Loyal King. He sent word to the British that his troops were coming to occupy the Chinese districts of Shanghai and that they would respect the Western concessions. While still professing their neutrality, and without any warning, the British attacked the Taiping forces when they arrived before the city.

In the words of British volunteer Augustus Lindley, instead "of the friendly reception always given by the Taipings to foreigners, and which they expected would now be returned, they were met by a storm of shot, shell and musketry." Assuming this was a dreadful misunderstanding, the Taipings did not return fire, but were shot down nonetheless. Lindley complained of "the slaughter of some 300 Taipings who made no reply whatever to the dastardly fire of men, who upon that day inflicted an indelible stain upon their nation's scutcheon." To provide themselves with clear fields of fire, the British and French set fire to the Chinese suburbs, leaving thousands homeless. When the Taipings finally withdrew, they were shelled by British warships.[10] In effect, the British were making clear that they preferred a suitably cowed and obedient Qing regime to the Taipings, not least because of their continued ban on opium.

After the Shanghai episode, the British declared a thirty-mile exclusion zone around the city. This led to continual fighting with Taiping rebels. Li Xinchang made two more attempts to occupy Shanghai and, although he inflicted some defeats on British and French forces, in the end he was always driven off by their overwhelming firepower. As for the British, they intervened more and more openly on the side of the Emperor. In May 1862, for example, an Anglo-French expedition attacked the Taiping-held port of Ningpo, a hundred miles from Shanghai, and handed it over to Qing troops, who promptly carried out a general massacre.

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An important part of the British war on the Taipings was played by a mercenary force, the Ever Victorious Army, made up of Chinese troops equipped with modern weapons and under command of British and American officers. The unit's founder and first commander, Frederick Ward, an American, was killed in the fighting and replaced by a British officer, Charles Gordon, who was later killed at Khartoum in the Sudan. Gordon's Chinese exploits made him a popular hero in Britain. He is still the subject of regular biographical studies, one of the most recent written by a former Inspector General of the CIA.[11] At the time and for many years afterwards, Gordon was given credit for having defeated the Taiping rebels almost singlehandedly, which was obviously an exaggeration. The rebels were finally destroyed by massive Qing armies under Zeng Guofan, but the British nevertheless played an important role. The denial of Shanghai was itself a serious setback for the revolutionary cause. Moreover, the British minister at Beijing, Frederick Bruce, made absolutely clear to the Qing government that if they did not destroy the Taiping rebels, the British would do it for them. A Qing victory without British help was most unlikely. Indeed, according to Hong Rengan, in the deposition he made after he was captured by the Imperialists, the assistance they received from the "foreigners" was "the cause of all our troubles."[12]

The Defeat of the Taiping Revolt

Nanjing finally fell to the Qing armies in July 1864. Hong Xiuquan was already dead, having died of natural causes only weeks before. His followers were massacred in the thousands. Succeeding months saw the remnants of this once-powerful revolutionary movement hunted down and killed. Defeat was complete.

Writing for *Die Presse* in July 1862, Marx, who had earlier welcomed the movement, now dismissed it as "an even greater abomination for the masses of the people than for the old rulers." All they were capable of was "destruction in grotesquely detestable forms, destruction without any nucleus of new construction." His evidence for this was a dispatch from the British consul in Ningpo, Frederick Harvey, which appeared in the

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Times. He even quoted Harvey's remark that the Taipings were in essence "a huge mass of nothingness."[13] Marx was relying here on a thoroughly tainted source. In his account of the Taiping movement, Augustus Lindley subjected Harvey's despatches to detailed criticism, as they were intended to justify British military intervention. Lindley concludes that

> the occupation of Ningpo by the Taipings actually increased the export trade . . . even Mr Consul Harvey admitted that it was captured and held with 'wonderful moderation.' As the scrupulous good conduct and friendliness of the revolutionist afforded no cause of hostility, it became necessary to invent one.[14]

Harvey's despatches prepared the way for an unprovoked Anglo-French attack on Ningpo, followed by a horrific massacre. One contemporary European account insists that the Qing forces "in a few hours did more damage than the rebels did in the whole of the five months that they had possession." The writer describes the Imperial governor as "busy chopping off the heads of the unlucky rebels that he caught, and otherwise torturing them." Indeed, Harvey's own Chinese attendant was active in ordering the execution of "unfortunates."[15]

Contrary to Marx's mistaken conclusion, the Taiping revolt was a great popular revolt, a revolt of the poor and oppressed, that took the form of a messianic Christian crusade to overthrow the old order and establish a communist society. Its early egalitarian aspirations were betrayed by its leaders but, despite this, it still inspired hundreds of thousands of men and women to carry on the fight against the Qing and, for this reason as well as for the telling actions of the British, is worth recalling.

NOTES

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works 12* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1979), p. 98.
2. For the history of the Taiping movement, see Franz Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion* (3 vols.) (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972). For a discussion of the movement's ideology, see Vincent Y. C. Shih, *The Taiping Ideology* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967).
3. Paul Cohen recalls asking an undergraduate class in late Imperial Chinese history what they knew about the Taipings. Well over 90 percent had never heard of them. Paul Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 14.
4. For the biography of Hong Xiuquan, see Jonathan Spence, *God 's Chinese Son* (London: Harper Collins, 1996).
5. Thomas Taylor Meadows, *The Chinese and Their Rebellions* (Shannon: Irish Uni-

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versity Press, 1972), pp. 457-458. (First published in 1856).
6. Joseph Edkins, *Religion in China* (London: Trubner and Co., 1878), p. 197.
7. Augustus F. Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh: The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution* (New York: Praeger 1970), pp. 154-155. (First published in 1866).
8. J. Y. Wong, *Yeh Ming-chien* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 66. For a contemporary account of the repression at Canton, see John Scarth, *Twelve Years in China* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co., 1890). He wrote "that humanity had been disgraced by the indiscriminate slaughter of thousands of innocent people. The very numbers that have been executed in cold blood proclaims not only that the revolution was widespread and popular, but that the government that destroyed them no longer deserved to exist" (232). Further on he wrote that "thousands were put to the sword, hundreds cast into the river, tied together in batches of a dozen. I have seen their putrid corpses floating in masses down the stream—women too among the number. Many were cut to pieces alive. I have seen the horrid sight, and the limbless, headless corpses, merely a mass of flayed flesh . . . that lay in scores covering the whole execution ground" (238). Scarth warned, unfortunately mistakenly, that "a day of woeful retribution is at hand" for the Qing (227).
9. For the Opium Wars, see my "Britain's Opium Wars," *Monthly Review,* vol. 49, no. 5 (October 1997). The quite incredible, indeed shameful, neglect of the opium trade by historians continues unabated; see for example, the prestigious *Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century,* edited by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Two recent, powerful correctives to this neglect are J. Y. Wong, *Deadly Dreams: Opium and the Arrow War in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Carl A. Trocki, *Opium, Empire and Global Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
10. Lindley, pp. 274-277.
11. John H. Waller, *Gordon of Khartoum* (New York: Athenium, 1988). See also Richard J. Smith, *Mercenaries and Mandarins* (New York: KTO Press, 1978).
12. Michael, p. 1526.
13. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works 19* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982), p. 218.
14. Lindley, pp. 521-526. For Harvey's report, see Prescott Clarke and J. S. Gregory, *Western Reports on the Taipings* (London: Groom Helm, 1982), pp. 396-400.
15. The correspondent of the *China Mail* (May 22, 1862), cited by Lindley, p. 536.

"The truth is that our liberal intellectual often does not notice the real forces which determine our political life, because he does not feel himself to be unfree. In his island of mild dissent he is able to speak, to argue, and to communicate with others like himself *to his heart's content. Where he has a grievance, there is generally a remedy to hand which does not entail any major appeal to public opinion. He may say what he wants because he wants to say so little, and the more intemperate radical can often be 'nobbled' before he becomes an irritant to the system. If the intellectual thinks of the forces of conditioning, he thinks of them as something done* to *other people—the masses—*by *other people–the advertisers or the press–not as something which is also being done to him, and in the doing of which he has active complicity."*

—E. P. Thompson, "The Segregation of Dissent," Writing by Candlelight

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CORRESPONDENCE

Reply to Khalil Hassan

by Steve Early

Khalil Hassan's contribution to your July/August 2000 issue ("The Future of the Labor Left") attempts to categorize leftwing union activists based on their past or present relationship to "the labor bureaucracy."

He identifies me, by name, with a political tendency amusingly described as "the grousing element." We grousers are accused of kneejerk "oppositionism" and "criticism of whatever initiatives come from labor's leadership" at the new AFL-CIO. We are also allegedly prone to "see hidden agendas and dangers for workers or argue that nothing of substance has happened at all" since the election of John Sweeney and his "New Voice" slate in 1995.

Our final sin—shared with several other tendencies—is that we're long on theory and short on practice and have "not examined and organized around the *inner dynamics of the U.S. trade union movement itself.*"

Speaking only for myself, not other grousers, I'd like to point out that my modest contribution to critical thought about the direction of the labor movement is rooted in a considerable amount of "practice"—more than twenty-five years of active duty as a union organizer and representative. Hassan has either not read or has misread the many articles and reviews that I've done over the past five years for *Labor Notes*, the *Nation*, the *Boston Globe*,

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the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *WorkingUSA*, *New Labor Forum*, and other publications. All of these pieces addressed questions related to union revitalization in a manner considerably more nuanced than mere grousing.

Rather than "just say[ing] 'no' to the labor bureaucracy"—whatever that means—I've emphasized in some detail the need for member-based organizing rather than staff-dominated union-building; the importance of maintaining Jobs with Justice coalitions as independent, grassroots vehicles for creating "social justice unionism" outside official AFL structures; and the need for crossborder union alliances rooted in the rank and file, not just mediated through the officialdom.

In his contribution to the same issue, Michael Yates (a better reader perhaps?) quoted approvingly from one such essay—a book chapter on innovative international work involving members of the Communications Workers of America, on whose national staff I serve.

"The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce par décret du peuple. *They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and man."*

—*Karl Marx,* The Civil War in France

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Ecological Roots: Which Go Deepest?

by Helena Sheehan

Foster, John Bellamy, *Marx's Ecology: Materialism and Nature* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 300pp., $18, paperback

"Oh no, not another great, thick, fat book on Marx!" thought Richard Lewontin when he saw this new book by John Bellamy Foster. I have to confess (despite the fact that I, too, have written a big book on Marxism) to a similar reaction. However, as he goes on to say in the book's blurb, "as soon as I started to read, I found it hard to put down." With this, too, I concur.

This is a lucid, engaged, scholarly, substantial book. It takes a landscape of intellectual history and a series of texts that may be familiar to *MR* readers, but interrogates and interprets them in a new way. Whether the reader already knows much of this terrain or is exploring it for the first time, this book is an excellent guide.

John Bellamy Foster charts the evolution of thought of a large cast of characters, including himself. He explains that Marx has often been characterized as an anti-ecological thinker. This he always knew not to be the case, but only in later years did he come to realize how central was the ecological dimension of Marx's thought.

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Basically, Foster has changed sides in the debates between two currents within Marxism. The classical Marxist tradition, associated with those from Engels forward who refused to cede the whole realm of the natural sciences to positivism, sought to work out a materialist worldview that embraced both human society and the natural world. The other tradition, associated with neo-Kantian and neo-Hegelian polemics against positivism and embraced by the Frankfurt School and much of the new left, argued against the idea of the dialectic of nature and the involvement of Marxism with the natural sciences. Citing many influences, from rereading Marx himself to the legacy of *Monthly Review* to another strain of the new left associated with scientists such as Levins, Lewontin, and Gould, Foster has come to argue for a comprehensive materialism that embraces both the physical and social realms.

The "western Marxist" tradition saw a basic breach between a humanist Marx and a positivist Engels and tended to see everything admirable in the subsequent history of the left as grounded in the former and everything that went astray in the latter. However, a rigorous examination of text and context makes the assertion of such a theoretical gulf between Marx and Engels untenable. It is good to see one more work vindicating the very progressive and intelligent philosophical legacy of Engels. A quote from Engels bearing on the relation of the natural world to human society still seems very fresh in its resonance with the ecological consciousness of our own time:

> Thus at every step we are reminded that we by no means rule over nature like a conqueror over a foreign people, like someone standing outside nature—but that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage of all other creatures of being able to learn its laws and apply them correctly.

A particularly interesting feature of Foster's telling of the story is his claim that Soviet ecology in the 1920s was arguably the most advanced in the world because, while western models tended to be reductionist, linear, and teleological, Soviet thinking was more dynamic, dialectically complex, holistic, and coevolutionary. He cites Vernadsky's analysis of the biosphere and Vavilov's work on genetic diversity, as well as Lenin's and Lunacharsky's

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policies of environmental protection. Things took a different turn, of course, after the ascendancy of Stalin and the first five-year plan, when conservation was attacked as "bourgeois" and when the more ecological thinkers were purged.

Among the purged was Bukharin. Although I thought that I knew what there was to be known about Bukharin's philosophical writings, I discovered from this book that new manuscripts have been unearthed since I did my own research on Soviet philosophy of science. How amazing that Bukharin, in the midst of the trials, tribulations, and terrors of the Lubyanka, wrote four book-length manuscripts: an autobiographical novel (*How It All Began*), a book of poetry (*The Transformation of the World*), a treatise on socialism (*Socialism and Its Culture*), and a wide-ranging philosophical work (*Philosophical Arabesques*). These manuscripts were only discovered during the *glasnost* years under Gorbachev. *How It All Began* and *Philosophical Arabesques* were published in Russian in the 1990s. The former appeared in English in 1998 and the latter is forthcoming. Foster has evidently seen drafts of an English translation of *Philosophical Arabesques* from Monthly Review Press, which he interprets as showing Bukharin to be a truly deep ecological thinker, even beyond his writings in this area that were already known.

Another achievement of Monthly Review Press was to keep Caudwell's *Studies and Further Studies in a Dying Culture* in print for so many years. Foster sings the praises, music to my ears, of this brief, brilliant, breathtaking presence in the history of Marxism. Caudwell's integrative insight, his ability to break though all of the characteristic dichotomies, all the one-sided emphases on organism or environment, rather than on their mutually determining relations, allowed him to bridge dialectically the great epistemological divide. He captured the essence of an ecological worldview, which eluded so many others, according to Foster.

The title *Marx's Ecology* does not really do justice to this book, so vast is the scope of its examination of thinkers before and after Marx and so contemporary is its argument. The large cast of players in Foster's "literary detective story" ranges from Democritus and Epicurus through Feuerbach, Malthus, and Darwin to

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Engels, Bukharin, Bernal, Haldane, Caudwell, and many more. It is actually a history of materialism. Then the history of materialism is brought to bear in a polemic against antimaterialist tendencies in contemporary ecological movements.

At the core of this book is the assertion of the centrality of ecology to a materialist conception of nature and history and the centrality of a materialist conception of nature and history to ecology. A whole history of conflicting interpretations informs an analysis of current concerns.

Foster argues that the entire history of materialist approaches to nature and human existence stands in need of reassessment. He takes on the tendency within contemporary green thought to attribute the entire course of ecological degradation to the emergence of the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century and Bacon's idea of the "domination of nature," which is seen as embodying an anthropocentric, exploitative mechanism to which a romanticist, organicist, vitalist postmodernism can be opposed. This dualist perspective has led much of the contemporary ecological movement to a crude rejection of modernity and science, to caricatures of the enlightenment and of Marxism, and to irrationalist myopia.

Once the ecological dimension is reconceived in this way and grounded in a realist epistemology and materialist ontology, it can be seen that the obstacles to a rational metabolism of nature and society lie not in modernity, not in science, not in materialism, but in the capitalist mode of production.

If anyone wants to understand the place of the ecological dimension within the Marxist tradition, this book is a must. Or, coming at it from another angle, if anyone wants to grapple with alternative philosophical bases for contemporary ecological concerns, this book traces the various roots and shows which go deepest.

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Setting the Record Straight on the Korean War

by Martin Hart-Landsberg

Deane, Hugh, *The Korean War, 1945-1953* (San Francisco: China Books and Periodicals, Inc., 1999), 246 pp., $14.95, paperback.

Hugh Deane has written a concise, political, and engaging history of the Korean war. One reason this book is special is that Deane was in southern Korea during the late 1940s as a reporter, and his experiences there enable him to provide a more immediate and personal perspective on events than one normally finds in histories of the Korean war.

In *The Korean War, 1945-1953*, Deane challenges conventional understandings of the war. Most importantly, he argues that it began in 1945, not 1950; that primary responsibility for the war lies with the U.S. government, which actively and intentionally divided Korea to further its imperialist ambitions; and finally, that the fighting between 1950 and 1953 is best characterized as a civil war rather than an unprovoked invasion of one nation by another.

Although Deane makes little attempt to explain the contemporary relevance of his work, it is an easy task. A peace treaty ending the Korean war has never been signed. Technically, the United States and North Korea remain in a state of war; the United States has rebuffed numerous North Korean attempts to negotiate its end. In fact, the United States and Japan still refuse to recognize North Korea. This continuing state of hostilities (intensified by the ongoing presence of U.S. military personnel

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in South Korea) has the potential to trigger a new, and potentially nuclear, Korean war. It has also provided useful cover for rightists in Japan to pursue remilitarization and for the military-industrial complex in the United States to sustain high levels of military spending. Finally, this situation, along with the tensions generated by Korea's division, has also provided justification for the governments of both North and South Korea to distort and limit progressive political and social possibilities on both sides of the thirty-eighth parallel.[1]

While the events surrounding the Korean war cannot fully explain all of the above, the taproot of current tensions and struggles does lie in the period between 1945 and 1953. And, because the carefully managed conventional history of the Korean war has helped U.S. policymakers maintain popular support for their foreign policy, it is necessary to challenge that history if we are to build support for a new U.S. policy towards Korea and meaningful solidarity with the Korean people.

Cracks in the conventional history are slowly becoming visible. In September 1999, the U.S. government was finally forced to admit that the U.S. army might have committed an atrocity during the Korean war—specifically, that U.S. soldiers murdered several hundred Korean civilians near Nogun village in late July 1950.[2]

While the U.S. government acknowledges that atrocities were committed during the war, it previously blamed them all on North Korea, not itself or South Korea. However, as Deane shows, the opposite is closer to the truth. For example, the Syngman Rhee regime "ordered a blood bath in the southern regions retaken from the north after Inchon in the fall of 1950 . . . Gregory Henderson [a U.S. official stationed in Seoul] estimated . . . that probably more than 100,000 were killed without any trial whatsoever when soldiers and the Counter-Intelligence Corps recaptured areas where the left was known to be strong" (96). Deane also highlights the normally overlooked period from October through November 1950, when U.S. and South Korean forces occupied North Korea. The result was a reign of terror. "After reoccupying Pyongyang, the North Koreans claimed that 15,000 people had been massacred there—the

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bodies filled the courtyard of the main prison and 26 air raid shelters" (101).

The True Start of the Korean War

Deane's book is divided into five sections (with the middle sections dominating): *History That Shapes the Present, The True Start of the Korean War, The 1950 War in the Making, Armies at War,* and *Armistice and Aftermath.* While mainstream accounts of the start of the Korean war normally begin with North Korean forces "invading" South Korea, Deane's aim in section two is to show that the war started in 1945 as a result of U.S. policy. He therefore begins his analysis with the 1945 arrival of U.S. troops in southern Korea.

Although American troops were allegedly sent to oversee the surrender of Japanese forces, their mission was much bigger. Significantly, even before U.S. forces had landed in Korea, they were told by their commanding officer that the Korean people were to be considered enemies of the United States. The United States sought domination over as much of Korea as possible because of its strategic proximity to Japan, China, and the Soviet Union. Because the great majority of Koreans had their own vision of a democratic, independent, and socialist country, they stood in the way of U.S. plans.

The logic of the situation quickly led the United States to ally with the existing Japanese colonial administration in Korea and with rightwing Koreans against the popularly supported Korean People's Republic and its associated mass organizations. Deane describes in some detail how the U.S. occupation proceeded to smash any and all opposition to its rule over the south.

Deane also explains the decision to formally divide the country as an American one. The U.S. government, recognizing that it could not exert its will in the north, eventually decided that a divided Korea, with the south under U.S. control, was the best outcome it could achieve. Thus, in September 1947, it pressured the United Nations (UN) to agree to oversee separate elections in the south (which had the greatest population) and the north to create a Korean government. The Soviets and North Koreans opposed the U.S.-orchestrated voting plan (given the repression

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of the left in the south) and refused to allow the UN access to the north.

The overwhelming majority of southerners also opposed the election. As a result, even the head of the delegated UN Commission, K. P. S. Menon (the chief delegate from India), expressed doubts about proceeding. However, one month later, Menon agreed to support the election. Deane reports the reason for this change of heart as follows: "In March I was informed by an upset member of the Indian embassy that the State Department virtually blackmailed India . . . The American ambassador in New Delhi informed Nehru that the Indian action on Korea would affect the U.S. attitude toward the Kashmir dispute. Nehru cabled orders to India's commission delegation to refrain from criticizing American policies in South Korea and to vote with the U.S." (64). The vote went ahead; South Korea became a country and Rhee became its first president.

The United States succeeded in splitting the nation but it could not provide legitimacy for the new government. Armed struggle against the newly created southern regime began. Thus, even before the June 25 "start" of the Korean War fighting, a civil war raged in South Korea. This war, in essence a war over the future political, social, and economic orientation of the south and by extension all of Korea, was the direct result of U.S. actions. And it was impossible that the question of Korea's future could be decided in only one-half of the country.

The 1950 War in the Making

Deane seeks to explain two important issues in this brief section: U.S. foreign policy considerations, which encouraged its intervention in the fighting, and the events triggering the 1950 Korean War fighting. In terms of the latter, Deane describes how, in 1949, Rhee was eager for a march north, hoping to ride the wave of U.S. support for his regime. In fact, the South launched several attacks across the parallel in the spring and summer. All were on the Onjin peninsula which, if seized, would secure southern forces a relatively direct and rapid route to Pyongyang.

While South Korea seemed to enjoy the military advantage

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early in the year, that advantage shifted north by late 1949, with the return of North Korean units that had fought in China's civil war. This shift now made Kim Il Sung eager to strike south. It remains unclear whether Kim thought in terms of a quick strike to seize Seoul or a full-scale invasion of the south. Regardless, what is clear is that both sides were eager for battle.

Deane reports that Kim failed to win Stalin's support for a strike until May 1950. Still, Stalin was cautious and let Kim know that he would not support an unprovoked attack. Deane notes that the North "asserted on June 26, 1950, that the South had started the war by a general assault across the 38th parallel." While there is no evidence of a general assault, there are good reasons for believing that the South struck first, attacking the key northern city of Haeju. The South actually claimed to have taken the city, although it presented its victory as part of a counterattack against the northern offensive. However, the overall military situation makes such a counterattack highly unlikely.

It is more likely that the South launched a first strike across the border, hoping to trigger a northern attack so as to enlist U.S. forces in a march north. The North, having waited for just such a provocation, obliged by sending its troops south. And the United States, eager for an incident to further its own aims, was quick to intervene in what was clearly a civil war between Koreans.

Armies at War

In this, the longest section of the book, Deane lays out the basic dynamics of the fighting, with significant attention to the role of the Chinese (a role North Korea now downplays). But his major challenge to conventional histories of this period is found in a series of short chapters dealing with the armistice negotiations, air war, biological warfare, and treatment of prisoners of war.

By mid-1951, both sides were close in number of fighters and holding territory roughly in the location of the thirty-eighth parallel. Although it seemed likely that the two sides would quickly find a way to end the fighting, the war lasted another two years, mainly because the United States demanded a fully nego-

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tiated armistice agreement before it would agree to stop fighting. And as Deane reveals, the United States was in no hurry to conclude an agreement. Two issues dominated the negotiations: the location of the truce line and reparations of prisoners.

The United States initially argued for making the actual battle line the truce line, while the North Koreans and Chinese argued for the original thirty-eighth parallel. When the communist side finally agreed to the U.S. position, the United States changed its position, demanding that the truce line be advanced some thirty-two miles into the north. At the same time, the United States publicly accused the communist side of delaying the negotiations because of its refusal to accept the battle line as the truce line. American reporters were kept in the dark on this and many other things concerning the war.[3] As Deane reports, the deception was finally exposed thanks to the efforts of Wilfred Burchett and Alan Winnington, who were reporting on the communist side.

After agreement was reached on the truce line, the two sides took up the issue of prisoner repatriation. The United States refused to abide by the Geneva Convention, which mandated that all prisoners be repatriated at the end of the fighting. Instead, they argued that Korean and Chinese prisoners should be allowed to decide where they wanted to be released. Deane presents powerful evidence that as the two sides argued the issue, Korean and Chinese prisoners were brutally tortured in an effort to get them to defect. One chapter documents how wounded Chinese and Korean prisoners were used as guinea pigs for medical training and scientific experiments.

While the negotiations dragged on, the United States kept up an intense air war on the north. Cities and civilians were bombed; napalm was the weapon of choice. As for North Korean and Chinese charges that the United States used biological warfare in Korea and Manchuria, Deane concludes his survey of relevant studies saying that "in later years what appears to be corroborative evidence has persuaded some in the U.S. and elsewhere that the germ warfare accusations may well have been true" (158).

The armistice was finally signed on July 27, 1953, bringing the fighting to a close. In April 1954, there was a follow-up peace

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conference in Geneva to settle the political future of Korea. North Korea called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and an all-Korea election to establish a unified government. South Korea opposed this. With U.S. support, it called for elections only in North Korea and under UN supervision.

The United States and Rhee wanted the conference to fail; they were content with the status quo. Deane quotes Chester Ronning, acting head of the Canadian delegation: "I was appalled by the great differences in position being taken by the United States and South Korea on the one hand and by most of the rest of us on the other. I thought I had come to participate in a peace conference . . . Instead the emphasis was entirely on preventing a settlement from being realized" (190-191). As the United States wanted, the conference ended with no final declaration or commitment to future action and Korea divided.

A Korean war memorial was inaugurated in Washington, D.C., in 1995. Its inscription reads: "Our nation honors her uniformed sons and daughters who answered their country's call to defend a country they never knew and a people they never met." It is true that most Americans knew little about Korea at the time of the Korean war. Tragically, the real history of the Korean war remains largely unknown even today. As a result, most Americans continue to have a distorted understanding of the aims and consequences of U.S. foreign policy toward Korea. Deane's book is a good resource for those who want to change that.

NOTES

1. See my book, *Korea: Division, Reunification, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998), for an extended discussion of the U.S. role in maintaining the division of Korea, the ongoing impact of division on both North and South Korea, and strategies for promoting a progressive reunification process.
2. Associated Press, "Pentagon to look at U.S. Killing," *New York Times*, September 30, 1999.
3. In addition to wartime censorship, the U.S. media was itself reluctant to publish anything critical of the war. A case in point: twenty-eight American publishers rejected I. F. Stone's book, *The Hidden History of the Korean War*. Monthly Review Press eventually published it.

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The Neglected C. L. R. James

by Paul Buhle

Glaberman, Martin, ed., *Marxism for Our Times: C. L. R. James on Revolutionary Organization* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 206 pp., $18, paperback.

In 1963, when *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution* returned to print in an inexpensively priced paperback, early new left readers discovered (or rediscovered) for themselves a revolutionary classic and a beautifully written account of the first successful slave uprising since Spartacus. The idea that Haitians had not only freed themselves but played a role in the contemporary European class struggles was potent stuff for the emerging Black Power movement. But the scarcity of Pan-African author C. L. R. James' other writings by the early 1970s, at the height of his popularity as campus lecturer and veteran revolutionary, was inevitably disappointing. The general availability of James' works now, when only graying radicals can remember the vividness of his presence, seems deeply ironic. Likewise the miniboom of recent critical literature, including three biographical studies and several critical anthologies; for better or worse, James has belatedly come into his own as an academic subject. What political and intellectual use that readers will make of this work and the rest of what might now be called "Jamesiana" remains, of course, very much to be seen.

Martin Glaberman, a longtime disciple who maintained several groups in Detroit around James' ideas, gives us material in *Marxism for Our Times* that has practically never seen the light of day. As Glaberman's introduction reminds readers, the Trini-

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Paul Buhle's *Images of American Radicalism* is now out in paperback from Christopher House Publishers. Buhle is collaborating on a volume of Michael Alewitz's labor murals for Monthly Review Press.

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dadian native was most at home with smallish political entities almost from the time of his political conversion in England of the early 1930s until his expulsion from the United States in 1953, and (so far as he could manage) beyond. In this capacity, he tutored discussion circles and individuals—the most famous included the young Eric Williams and Kwame Nkrumah—from London and Trinidad to the United States on theoretical, strategic, and tactical points. *Marxism for Our Times* possesses special interest because James wrestles with the problems of postwar capitalism when the ready answers of economic decline and impending crisis in the old sense moved off the map.

Frequently, James' writings of the 1940s are marked by sweeping political-philosophical visions framed in the very particular terms of contemporary Trotskyism, and this is the case with the longest and most important piece in the book, "Education, Propaganda, Agitation: Post-War America and Bolshevism" (1946). Unlike so many wishful thinkers, James wanted to face squarely the American failure to build a European-style mass party, by proposing dramatically new directions. Speaking for the prospects of the Workers Party (an organization of some five hundred members), he wrote that its weekly newspaper might become "our press, our radio, . . . and our film short," but only if it spoke to working-class readers directly and intimately, adapting itself as successfully to this climate as pre-Revolution Bolshevism had been adapted to Russian conditions.

This idea of political-cultural adaptation was in the air in various parts of the left since at least the 1920s, but arguably was captured best (albeit in crypto-Marxist terms) in James' era by the Popular Front milieu around the Communist Party, and far more effectively in popular art than in politics and theory. As Michael Denning has shown in meticulous detail, the very logic of radicals in the entertainment world finding a willing audience carried them along further than they might have expected themselves to go. No one, save perhaps left trade-unionists (and trade-union educators such as the extraordinary popularizer Leo Huberman), was so successful at "Americanizing," at developing the language and logic to circumstances. If talk about Marx and

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Lenin remained stubbornly "foreign," films like *House of Seven Gables, Talk of the Town, The Sea Wolf, Sahara, Action in the North Atlantic,* and *Woman of the Year* (all of them written by Hollywood Popular Fronters)—not to mention the songs of the Almanacs, Billie Holiday, or Paul Robeson—traversed the lexicon for something beyond capitalism's systematic racism and exploitation and often succeeded grandly.

The James of the rest of *Marxism for Our Times* speaks from the early to mid-1960s, when a recovered global capitalism faced new dilemmas, mostly involving the impact of the former colonial world. Socialism could no longer be seen as "inevitable" (a popular notion of Marxists in earlier eras) but rather as the alternative to barbarism in one sense or another. Yet the key ideas of Marx remained supremely useful, James insisted, because a Marxist view of social relations understood capitalism's deepest contradictions even while the various efforts at state planning (East and West, North and South) were frustrated and finally turned into bureaucratic hash. Radicals might lose heart, James warned, hurling verbal jeremiads while quietly giving up on the vision of revolutionary change—or they might look at ordinary people's lives more carefully and try to find the creative possibilities in responses to the stresses and strains of modern wage-slavery and colonialism's heritage.

"I have a feeling," James wrote in 1963, that "there are a lot of young people around nowadays who are looking for something to which they can attach themselves"(88). He was right, but revival of the existing Marxist groups was simply not in the cards, except for those which inserted themselves successfully into student radicalism (often with destructive effects) or managed for a time to draw a saving remnant from the collapse of the movement.

James urgently wanted to find something beyond the old vision of the vanguard party, something akin to the new left but more conscious of culture in its many senses, of Lenin's legacy, and of working-class possibility. He was immensely heartened by the uprisings of 1968 and, personally as well as politically, sympatico with young radicals, especially young African-American and Car-

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ibbean Marxists. He had a special way of presenting the black struggle—efficiently presenting himself as a part of the history of the black struggle that included W. E. B. DuBois along with his fellow West Indians Marcus Garvey, Frantz Fanon, and Stokely Carmichael—that was well-nigh irresistible.

But he could not reinvent the traditional left because the task was beyond accomplishment. Indeed, the careful retelling of his small group's history (down to the details of personalities, including Raya Dunayevskaya, James Boggs, and Grace Lee Boggs) is fascinating mainly because of the frustrations at wrestling with political forms and theoretical perspectives. If we read between the lines, we might see an unwillingness to let go of the familiar structure of past Marxist movements—an altogether understandable miscalculation.

Had James taken a more careful and sympathetic look at the milieu of his Popular Front political opponents in earlier decades, he might possibly have drawn the conclusion that the leftwing party in anything like its pre-1940 form had already dissolved (except for the groups of a few hundred who worked vigorously but could grow no further), replaced by more amorphous movements drawing upon popular moods and impulses. Even as the Communist Party (reorganized in the short-lived Communist Political Association) reached its all-time apex of some eighty-five thousand members, the larger milieu grew steadily less reliant upon Party guidance; the subsequent effort to reimpose political discipline proved almost as disastrous as McCarthyism. To be "radical" now meant something different, as early *Monthly Review* readers recognized, and organizational styles had fallen badly behind.

This shift, which James had already predicted in a way—and he was bitterly denounced by his fellow Trotskyists for his supposed apotheosis of "spontaneity"—appears to have changed the prospects for the left irrevocably. After the rapid rise and fall of Black Power and new left movements; the more protracted but similar trajectories of the women's movement; gay and lesbian movements (not to mention the Chicano, Asian-American, and American Indian movements); the ebb and flow of organized

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and leftish environmentalism; and the often massive but decentralized anti-intervention and antinuke movements of the 1980s and 1990s, the newer pattern has become familiar.

The demonstrations at the World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle in late 1999 provides fresh evidence not so much of "spontaneity" as decentralization; cross-movement alliances (now, at last, including labor again); and a heavy emphasis upon a public cultural presentation of the issues. Perhaps, for a left that peaked in the nineteenth century at five thousand organized socialists (with free-lover Victoria Woodhull vastly more charismatic than the immigrant Marxists who expelled her from the First International section), launched the Wobblies and Greenwich Village radicals alongside the Socialist Party, and saw the subsequent rise of muralists, singers, and moviemakers at the visible center of left public events, not so much has changed after all. Shedding indirect light on these issues, the particulars of *Marxism for Our Time* will not appeal to every reader, but sympathetic and patient readers will find much to consider.

"Proletarian revolutions, like those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltriness of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them, recoil ever and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out: Hic Rhodus, hic salta! [Here is Rhodes, leap here!] "

—*Karl Marx,* The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte

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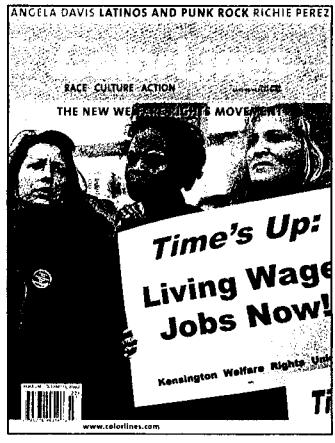

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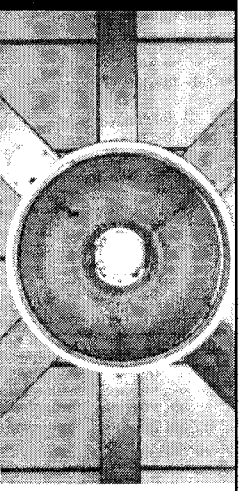

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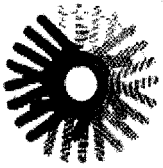

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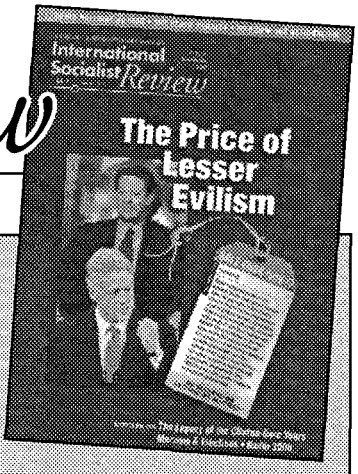

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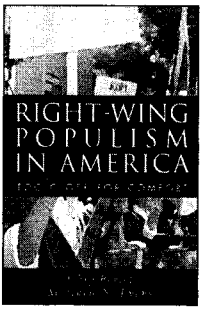

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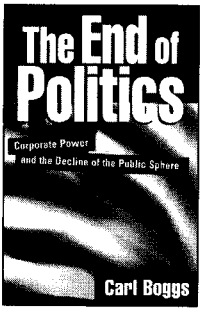

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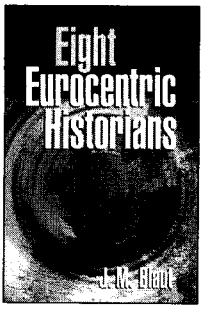

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The 1948 election is in many ways still with us. The longterm consequence of the rightward shift of the Democrats that began with Truman was the demise of the New Deal coalition. This is evident today in the fact that half the eligible electorate, and a majority of the working class, no longer votes, even in a presidential election. Tragically, the Democratic and Republican parties seem content at present to compete over an ever-diminishing share of actual to potential voters, focusing their attention on the so-called "center" of U.S. politics dominated by moneyed interests. Under these circumstances, third-party campaigns that address the needs of the forgotten "party of non-voters" should be welcomed as attempts to regenerate U.S. democracy by broadening the body politic. One thing is certain: no genuine progress—in this or any other election—is possible until the mass of the nonvoting, working population is drawn back into the political arena. The future rests entirely on the construction of an effective, working-class political majority.

We thought that readers would be interested in knowing more about the Center for the Study of Political Graphics in Los Angeles, which generously gave us permission to use the SNCC poster on this month's cover. Their archive currently has approximately forty-four thousand international and domestic posters covering diverse human rights and social justice issues. The Center demonstrates the power and significance of these artistic expressions of social change through traveling exhibitions, lectures, publications, and workshops and is interested in receiving poster donations. Their address is 8124 West Third Street, Suite 211, Los Angeles, CA 90048-4039, and they can also be reached at (323) 653-4662 or <www.politicalgraphics.org>.

The San Francisco Mime Troupe will be on tour across the United States through November. For more information, contact Jeremy Mage <thedepths@earthlink.net> or Greg Tate <gtate@sfmt.org>.

MONTHLY REVIEW (ISSN 0027 0520) is a publication of Monthly Review Foundation, a non-profit organization. It is published monthly except July and August, when bimonthly, and copyright ©2000, by Monthly Review. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send all address changes (Form 3579) to Monthly Review Foundation, 122 West 27 Street, New York, NY 10001. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS: 122 West 27 Street, New York, NY 10001. Telephone: (212) 691-2555. Fax: (212) 727-3676. Email: editorial: mrmag@monthlyreview.org; circulation and subscriptions: mrsub@monthlyreview.org. Web: <www.monthlyreview.org>. Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. MR is indexed in the PAIS Bulletin, Historical Abstracts, America: History and Life, Political Science Abstracts, and the Alternative Press Index, P.O.Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218, tel.: (410) 243-2471. NEWSSTAND DISTRIBUTION: B. DeBoer, Inc., 113 E. Centre Street, Nutley, NJ 07110; Armadillo & Co., 5795 Washington Blvd., Culver City, CA 90232; Small Changes, 3443 Twelfth Avenue West, Seattle, WA 98119; Central Books, 99 Wallis Road, London E9 5LN, England. SUBSCRIPTION PRICES: U.S. one-year $29, students and senior citizens $24; Canadian $40 (Can. dollars); UK £25; other foreign $37 (USD), students and senior citizens $28 (USD). Libraries and Institutions: U.S. $48; Foreign $55 (USD). Additional postage: First Class (U.S.) $20; Airmail: (Foreign, inc. Canada) $35 (USD).

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(continued from inside front cover)

do with any law of natural devolution of third-party movements but rather grew out of the most virulent redbaiting presidential campaign in U.S. history, setting the stage for the full-fledged McCarthyism that followed.

Faced with the challenge from the Progressive Party on the left, and thus a serious threat to his winning the election, Truman appealed to progressives by arguing that he was the lesser evil: "A vote for the third party plays into the hands of the Republican forces of reaction, whose aims are directly opposed to the aims of American liberalism." But Truman didn't stop there. In his campaign speeches he pointedly referred to "Henry Wallace and his Communists" and declared that "Communists are using and guiding the third party." It was no mere coincidence, moreover, that on July 21, 1948, just two days before the Progressive national convention, the Truman administration commenced the Smith Act prosecutions against twelve Communist leaders, putting the issue of Communism on the front page of every newspaper in the country, and effectively tainting the Progressives by association.

In the end Truman's strategy worked. Numerous Wallace sympathizers were scared off by the redbaiting campaign and by a fear of a Republican reaction if Dewey were to win. Wallace received only about a million votes, as compared to twenty-four million for Truman and twenty-two million for Dewey (and a million for Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond). Yet, even then, the votes cast for Wallace came close to upsetting what the great progressive leader, Robert LaFollette, had once called the "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" politics of the two major parties. A few thousand votes lost by Truman to Wallace in Illinois (where they would have had to have been write-in votes, since the Democratic machine there had kept Wallace off the ballot), California, and Ohio would have resulted in a Dewey victory.

Truman had declared that a Dewey victory, resulting from a strong Wallace showing, would have meant the triumph of "forces of reaction." But under the circumstances of the time, a Republican victory might not have been the unmitigated disaster for progressives that was feared. Dewey was a Wall Street lawyer and no civil libertarian, but he had opposed the Nixon-Mundt bill to outlaw the Communist Party, which eventually became law under the sponsorship of liberal Hubert Humphrey. Dewey's vice-presidential running mate was Earl Warren, a fair-minded conservative who later became Chief Justice in the best Supreme Court the United States ever had. The creation of the historic Warren court—through appointments in Republican Eisenhower's first term—is believed to have been due largely to Eisenhower's Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, who was Dewey's closest friend and campaign manager. The two Supreme Court justices Truman got to appoint in the 1949-1953 administration were Tom Clark (a justice from 1949 to 1967) and Sherman Minton (from 1949 to 1956). Both were reactionaries and contributed substantially to the Supreme Court's horrible record of destroying the Bill of Rights during the McCarthy period. Clark lasted long enough to oppose almost every good thing done by the Warren court. In terms of the national security state, there is no reason to assume that a Dewey victory would have produced results worse than what occurred under Truman, with the expansion of the Cold War and the commencement of the Korean War.

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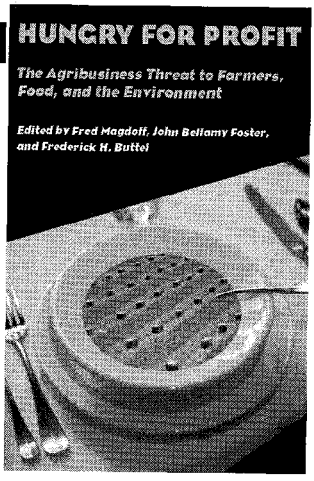
HUNGRY FOR PROFIT
The Agribusiness Threat to Farmers, Food, and the Environment
Edited by Fred Magdoff, John Bellamy Foster, and Frederick H. Buttel

HUNGRY FOR PROFIT

THE AGRIBUSINESS THREAT TO FARMERS, FOOD, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Edited by Fred Magdoff, John Bellamy Foster, and Frederick H. Buttel

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